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By

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Individualized Trust, and Self-Disclosure

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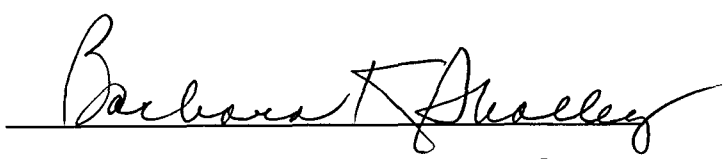
I certify that I have read this thesis and find that, in scope and quality, it satisfies the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



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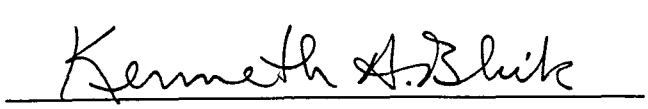

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Abstract

Self-disclosure, the process of revealing personal information to other people, was examined in relation to gender, gender role and individualized trust. Undergraduate subjects (N = 293) completed the Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale (Jourard, 1971b), the Individualized Trust Scales (Wheeless & Grotz, 1977), the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), and a demographic questionnaire. Significant interactions emerged between gender and individualized trust ($p < .01$), gender and gender role ($p < .05$), and individualized trust and gender role ($p = .01$). An androgynous gender role was shown to lead to higher rates of self-disclosure in the high trust condition but not in the low trust condition. Although masculine males and masculine females did not disclose differently, feminine females disclosed markedly more than feminine males. The relationship between individualized trust and gender role revealed an increase in self-disclosure common to androgynous individuals is restricted to those who are high trusting.

Relationships Among Gender, Gender Role, Individualized Trust and Self-Disclosure

Research has shown that there are substantial personal benefits of revealing personal information to others (Jourard, 1971b). Jourard defines this revealing process as self-disclosure which he asserts is "the process of making the self known to other persons" (Jourard, 1971b, p. 211). Cozby (1973) reported that the term "self-disclosure" refers to both a personality construct and an interpersonal interactive process.

The consequences of disclosing personal information to others, according to Jourard (1971b), are overwhelmingly positive. Jourard argued that not only is self-disclosure a positive indicator of a healthy personality, but also that it is a means by which a healthy personality can be achieved. He drew support for this notion from the work of Breuer and Freud who showed that free association and self-disclosure in therapy was effective for alleviating psychological difficulties. Jourard added that those who do not disclose to at least one other person deny themselves the opportunity for personal growth and must actively struggle to avoid becoming known, thus increasing the individual's level of stress. Research by Selye (1956) has shown that excessive stress tends to lead to illness, thus the potential benefits of self-disclosure are quite positive.

In addition to denying themselves opportunities, Jourard argued that men's lower levels of self-disclosure offer a partial explanation for gender differences in life expectancy. Jourard reasoned that the male role encourages men to appear emotionally inexpressive and discourages men from showing signs of weakness and inferiority. Due to these damaging effects of the male role, Jourard reasoned that men are subject to increased neuromuscular tension compared to women. This tension imposes stress and consumes men's energy which could lead to a shorter life span.

The beneficial effects of self-disclosure have a limit according to Derlega and Chaikin (1977). While acknowledging the positive effects of self-disclosure, they cautioned that those who do not know when or how to control their disclosures may suffer from a less clearly defined self concept. Derlega and Chaikin (1977) suggested that such individuals with disclosure control difficulties may reach the point where they no longer possess any scarce information about themselves.

Research on self-disclosure falls into one of two categories: (1) disclosure to mother, father, same-sex best friend and opposite sex best friend, hereafter referred to as primary self-disclosure; and (2) disclosure to strangers, hereafter referred to as secondary self-disclosure. During the past 20 years, an overwhelming amount of research has addressed the personal factors that account for

differences in how much individuals are willing to tell other people about themselves. Much of this research has focused on the subject of gender differences. Research has repeatedly shown that women reveal personal information to significant people in their lives more than men (Jourard, 1971b; Lombardo & Berzonsky, 1979; Hatch & Leighton, 1986; Snell, Belk, Flowers, & Warren, 1988; Snell, Miller, & Belk, 1988; and Snell, Miller, Belk, Garcia-Falconi, & Hernandez-Sanchez, 1989). Although a few studies have not found this gender difference (Lombardo & Lavine, 1981, 1984; Corcoran, 1988) no study has found that males disclose more than females. During the last ten years, studies that have found gender differences in self-disclosure used measures of disclosure which tapped more highly intimate subject areas. One such measure of intimate self-disclosure is the Emotional Self-Disclosure Scale (e.g. Snell, Miller, & Belk, 1988). Studies which have failed to find gender differences tended to use self-disclosure measures which tapped less intimate topics (Lombardo and Lavine, 1981, 1984). Research has shown that gender differences in self-disclosure are more profound when the content of the disclosure is more intimate (Lombardo & Berzonsky, 1979). It is possible that in cases where gender differences in self-disclosure have not emerged, the difference is due to the kind of disclosure being measured.

While many studies suggest that gender alone can account for

disclosure differences, Lombardo and Lavine (1981, 1984) questioned whether gender role related characteristics of the individual might also be important, perhaps even more important, than the gender difference. Interest in the concept of gender role was sparked by Bem who coined the term "androgyny" in 1974. She defined an androgynous individual as one who possessed both positive masculine and feminine characteristics and expressed these traits depending upon situational appropriateness (Bem, 1974). Lombardo and Lavine (1981) did not find a gender difference in self-disclosure. Instead, they found that both male and female androgynous subjects disclosed equally more to all primary targets than masculine males and feminine females.

Later, Lavine and Lombardo (1984) replicated their 1981 findings and added the category of undifferentiated gender role subjects to their analysis who were defined as those who scored below the mean for masculine and feminine traits on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. They found that androgynous subjects disclosed the most, followed by traditional (masculine and feminine) and undifferentiated subjects, respectively (Lavine & Lombardo, 1984). The results of Lombardo and Lavine (1981, 1984) showed that gender role seems to predict disclosure behavior more accurately than gender.

Snell, Miller, Belk, Garcia-Falconi, and Hernandez-Sanchez

(1989) found that subjects who subscribed to aspects of the masculine role and who tended to restrain self-disclosure were less likely to disclose personal information to several targets. Males who reported being inhibited in giving affection were less willing to discuss their emotional experiences with their fathers than were men who did not report inhibited affection. Women who reported inhibited affection reported less willingness to disclose personal information about their emotional experiences to targets of both genders.

So why do men and women differ in their rates of self-disclosure, and why is it that androgynous males seem to be able to overcome this difference? O'Neil (1981) reported that a possible explanation for male reluctance to self-disclose is tied into the traditional male role of fear of femininity that directly relates to homophobia. He noted that many men erroneously equate femininity with homosexuality which leads to a vigorous suppression of all behavior that could be classified as feminine, including interpersonal interaction and emotional intimacy with other men. He further noted that several other authors have mentioned that homophobia tends to restrict men's behavior. Perhaps androgynous males, those with healthy male and female characteristics, are able to overcome these restrictions.

Several researchers have investigated whether one's trust for

the individual being disclosed to relates to depth of disclosure (Petronio, Martin, & Littlefield, 1984; Wells & Kline, 1987). Two major types of trust have been measured with regard to self-disclosure: interpersonal trust, which refers to a general measure of the degree to which one is likely to trust other people in general; and individualized trust, which refers to the trust one has for specific people, i.e. mother, father, same sex best friend and opposite sex best friend. These two forms of trust measure separate concepts, as evidenced by the lack of a significant correlation between the two (Wheeless & Grotz, 1977).

Although research has shown that people high on interpersonal trust are likely to disclose a greater amount of personal information to a stranger (secondary self-disclosure) (Corcoran, 1988) research has failed to show a relationship between interpersonal trust and primary self-disclosure (Cash, Stack, & Luna, 1975; McAllister & Kiesler, 1975; MacDonald, Kessel, & Fuller, 1972). This seems logical in that one would have no reason to expect that the degree to which an individual trusts people in general would relate to how much the individual discloses to his/her parents and best friends.

When gender differences have been examined with regard to individualized trust and primary self-disclosure, research has shown that having trust in the individual one discloses to increases

self-disclosure; this individualized trust effect has been shown to be stronger for women than for men. Petronio, Martin, and Littlefield (1984) found that both males and females considered trust in their disclosure target to be important, although females placed more importance on trust than males. Support for the findings of Petronio et al. (1984) came from a study of self-disclosure of sexual preference among homosexuals (Wells & Kline, 1987). Wells and Kline (1987) found that among the criteria upon which lesbians based their decisions to disclose their sexual orientations to others was a high degree of trust for the target. Gay men also included trust in making disclosure decisions concerning their sexual identity, although trust in the disclosure target was a less important variable for males than for females. Together, the Petronio et al. (1984) and Wells and Kline (1987) studies suggested that trust is a more salient cue for females than for males in primary disclosure situations.

The present study examined the relationships between gender, gender role, individualized trust, and primary self-disclosure. Several hypotheses were made concerning the relationship between these variables.

Hypothesis 1

An interaction was predicted between gender and trust such that high trusting females would disclose more than high trusting

males and low trusting females would disclose less than low trusting males due to the greater saliency of trust to females as shown by Petronio, Martin and Littlefield (1984) and Wells and Kline (1987).

Hypothesis 2

Androgynous high trusting subjects were predicted to disclose more than any other gender role by trust group. The relationship between individualized trust, gender role and self-disclosure was an unexplored area prior to the present research. Hypothesis 2 was derived from the fact that both androgyny and high individualized trust had been shown to increase self-disclosure (Lombardo & Lavine, 1981, 1984; Wheeless, 1978; and Larzelere & Huston, 1980).

Hypothesis 3

Undifferentiated low trusting subjects were predicted to disclose the least of all gender role by trust groups. This prediction was made given the fact that low individualized trust and undifferentiated gender role had been shown to decrease self-disclosure (Lombardo & Lavine, 1981, 1984; Wheeless, 1978; and Larzelere & Huston, 1980).

Hypothesis 4

A main effect was predicted for gender with females disclosing more than males, based on substantial research findings (Jourard, 1971b; Lombardo & Berzonsky, 1979; Hatch & Leighton,

1986; Snell, Belk, Flowers, & Warren, 1988; Snell, Miller, & Belk, 1988; and Snell, Miller, Belk, Garcia-Falconi, & Hernandez-Sanchez, 1989).

Hypothesis 5

A main effect for trust was predicted, such that subjects high on individualized trust would report higher disclosure rates than subjects low on individualized trust. This hypothesis was based on the findings of Wheeless (1978) and Larzelere and Huston (1980).

Hypothesis 6

A main effect for gender role was predicted, with androgynous individuals disclosing the most, traditional (masculine and feminine) subjects the next most, and undifferentiated subjects the least, based upon the findings of Lombardo and Lavine (1981, 1984).

Method

Subjects

Subjects ranged in age from 17 to 25 and came from a small southern liberal arts University. Over half of the subjects (N = 171) came from the introductory psychology research pool and received credit toward the fulfillment of a course requirement in return for volunteering to participate. The remaining subjects (N = 131) came from introductory sociology and introductory political science classes and were paid $5 for their participation. Using subjects from outside the psychology department broadened the diversity of

the sample and increased the generalizability of results. A factorial analysis of variance was computed to determine whether paid versus unpaid subjects differed with respect to the dependent variable. No significant effects emerged, therefore data from paid and unpaid subjects were combined. Data from nine subjects were discarded due to failure to complete the measures, leaving a total of 293 subjects. Of those 293 subjects, 167 were female and 126 were male. Subjects were treated in accordance with the "Ethical Principles of Psychologists" (American Psychological Association, 1981).

Materials

Subjects completed a survey consisting of the Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale (Jourard, 1971b), the Individualized Trust Scales (Wheeless & Grotz, 1977), the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), a general demographic questionnaire and a consent form. The Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale contains 60 questions yielding an overall self-disclosure score and four sub-scores of self-disclosure to each of four targets: mother, father, best male friend, and best female friend. Subjects were asked to rate the degree to which they had disclosed the 60 topics to each target on a scale of X (have lied or misrepresented myself), 0 (have told the other person nothing of this aspect of myself), 1 (have discussed this in general terms with the person named), and 2 (have discussed this completely with the

other person. Scoring of the scale involves tallying the numbers for each of 60 questions for each disclosure target. The four resulting totals are added for a composite self-disclosure score. An X is scored the same as a 0 for this measure.

Odd-even reliability of the Jourard Scale is .94. Jourard reports that one's degree of willingness to disclose correlates .77 with behavioral disclosure (Jourard, 1971a). The Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale was chosen because it had more psychometric information available than any other self-disclosure scale. In addition, the Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale is the only measure of Self-Disclosure to be used by more than one team of researchers (Jourard, 1971b; Lombardo and Lavine 1981, 1984).

Subjects also completed the Individualized Trust Scales, a 15 item semantic differential-type instrument developed by Wheeless and Grotz (1977) for measuring trust in specified individuals. Through factor analysis it was shown that the Individualized Trust Scales measured a unidimensional, single factor of trust in another which accounted for 59% of the total variance. Split half reliability of the Individualized Trust Scales is .92 and unrotated primary loadings of items range from .60 to .86. Predictive validity is shown in that levels of self-disclosure on several dimensions were related to individualized trust scores derived from the scales although no specific validity coefficients are given by the authors (Wheeless &

Grotz, 1977). Subjects in the present study were divided into groups of high and low individualized trust using a median split. The median trust score for the subjects in the present study was 363.

Subjects also completed the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974) which requires the subject to rate on a seven point scale the degree to which each of sixty adjectives provide an accurate self description. According to Bem, forty of these characteristics were identified as masculine or feminine on the basis of sex-typed social desirability. The remaining twenty items are filler items and are not scored. After a median masculinity score (4.95) and a median femininity score (4.95) was calculated, a median split was used to divide subjects into high or low categories of both masculinity and femininity. Androgynous subjects, in accordance with the scoring procedure produced by Bem, were operationally defined as those with high scores on both masculinity and femininity, masculine subjects as those with high masculine scores and low feminine scores, feminine subjects as those with high feminine scores and low masculine scores, and undifferentiated subjects as those with low masculine and low feminine scores.

Internal consistency scores of the Bem scales as measured by coefficient alpha are all in the .80's. Test-retest reliability is in the .90's for each scale. Bem reports that discriminant validity of the BSRI scales is shown in that they are uncorrelated with social

desirability as measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Scale. Bem further reports that the BSRI correlates .25 - .50 with the masculine/feminine scale of California Psychological Inventory. Bem claims that the correlations with the California Psychological Inventory offers evidence that her scale measures an aspect of sex roles not tapped by previous scales (Bem, 1974).

The demographic questionnaire asked subjects their gender along with several other questions designed to conceal the purpose of the present study.

Procedure

Subjects volunteered by choosing to attend one of several experimental sessions. Participants were informed that the present study dealt with interpersonal communication. A packet was distributed to each participant containing the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974), the Jourard Self-Disclosure Scale (Jourard, 1971a), the Individualized Trust Scales (Wheeless & Grotz, 1977), a demographic questionnaire, and a consent form. The materials were ordered using a balanced Latin square design to control for order effects, however the consent form was always placed on top. All groups of subjects were given oral and written instructions as to how to complete each questionnaire.

Results

Results were analyzed in a 2 (gender: male, female) X 2

(individualized trust: high, low) X 4 (gender role: masculine, feminine, androgynous, undifferentiated) factorial analysis of variance in a quasi experimental design with gender, gender role, and individualized trust treated as independent variables with the dependent variable, self-disclosure.

No three way interaction was found. Interactions were found between all pairs of independent variables. Main effects were also found for each variable: gender, gender role, and individualized trust. The assumption of homogeneity of variance was satisfied, F_{max} (16, 5) = 6.05, $p < .05$. The degrees of freedom for the F_{max} test were taken from the number of cells (N = 16) and the number of subjects in the second smallest group. The smallest cell could not be used given that there was no variance to be measured (N = 1). The mean self-disclosure score across all subjects was 282.7.

A significant interaction emerged between gender and trust, F (1, 277) = 10.61, $p < .01$. Both horizontal and vertical simple effects tests were necessary to assess hypothesis 1 comprehensively. Simple effects tests showed that low trusting females disclosed significantly more than low trusting males, F (1, 144) = 7.73, $p < .01$. In addition, high trusting females disclosed significantly more than high trusting males F (1, 145) = 18.51, $p < .01$. Data for this interaction are presented in table 1. As one can

Insert Table 1 about here

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see from table 1, the source of the interaction effect occurred with the high trusting females whose self-disclosure rose at a more pronounced rate with high trust than the corresponding rate of increase among males.

A significant interaction occurred between gender role and individualized trust F (3, 277) = 3.89, p = .01. Simple effects tests showed that low trusting subjects differed significantly across gender role categories F (3, 142) = 5.60, p < .01. A Neuman-Keuls procedure was used to analyze differences among low trusting subjects across gender role. Results revealed that low trusting masculine and low trusting feminine subjects disclosed significantly more than low trusting undifferentiated subjects. The difference between disclosure rates of high trusting subjects across gender role was marginally significant, F (3, 143) = 2.37, p = .07. A Neuman-Keuls procedure revealed that androgynous high trusting subjects differed significantly from undifferentiated high trusting subjects.

By examining the means of the gender role by trust interaction in table 2, one can see that the source of the interaction

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Insert Table 2 about here

comes from the androgynous subjects. While masculine, feminine, and undifferentiated subjects follow the same pattern across trust level, androgynous subjects diverge. In the high trust condition, androgynous subjects disclose virtually the same amount as feminine subjects, disclosing significantly more than undifferentiated high trusting subjects. By contrast, in the low trust condition where there is less overall self-disclosure, androgynous subjects are indistinguishable from masculine, feminine and undifferentiated subjects.

An unexpected significant interaction emerged between gender and gender role, $F(3, 277) = 3.33$, $p < .05$. Simple effects tests showed that masculine males and masculine females did not significantly differ in their level of self-disclosure as can be seen in table 3. Both feminine and androgynous subjects differed

Insert Table 3 about here

significantly by gender at the .01 and .05 level, respectively. The self-disclosure difference between undifferentiated subjects by gender was marginally significant ($p = .08$). Where significant differences emerged, females disclosed more.

Simple effects tests showed that both males and females

significantly differed on disclosure by gender role, F (3, 122) = 5.96, p <.01. A Neuman-Keuls procedure was used to analyze differences in disclosure rates among males by gender role. Results showed that masculine males disclosed significantly more than feminine males and undifferentiated males. Androgynous males also disclosed significantly more than undifferentiated males.

Females differed in disclosure rates across gender role categories F (3, 163) = 3.08, p < .05. A Neuman-Keuls test revealed that both feminine females (M = 307.6) and androgynous females (M = 307.1) differed significantly from undifferentiated females (M = 263.6).

Clearly, the main source of the interaction was among the feminine subjects. Among males, femininity sharply decreased rates of self-disclosure while among females, femininity tended to increase disclosure rates.

Significant main effects emerged for all three variables: gender, gender role and individualized trust. A significant main effect for gender emerged F (1, 277) = 17.16, p < .01 such that females (M = 299.9) disclosed significantly more than males (M = 259.9). A significant main effect for gender role emerged F (3, 277) = 4.69, p < .01. A Neuman-Keuls procedure revealed that feminine subjects (M = 299.8), androgynous subjects (M = 296.5) and masculine subjects (M = 279.6) all differed significantly from

undifferentiated subjects (M = 243.0). A main effect for individualized trust emerged $F(1, 277) = 28.77$, $p < .01$ such that high trusting subjects (M = 304.9) disclosed significantly more than low trusting subjects (M = 260.3).

Discussion

Hypothesis 1, that an interaction between gender and trust would emerge, was partially confirmed. Such an interaction emerged, however the nature of the interaction was not exactly as expected. As predicted, high trusting females disclosed more than high trusting males. However, contrary to predictions, low trusting females also disclosed more than low trusting males. Interestingly, low trusting females and high trusting males were similar in their level of self-disclosure. Even though levels of self-disclosure were significantly higher with high levels of trust for both genders, the effect was stronger for females than for males. This suggests that trust is a more salient cue for females than for males and confirms the findings of Petronio et al. (1984) and Wells and Kline (1987) who each found that high trust increases self-disclosure more for women than for men.

A unique contribution of the present study is an exploration of the relationship between gender role and individualized trust. Hypotheses 2 and 3 each deal with this relationship. Together they predicted that androgynous high trusting subjects would disclose

the most and undifferentiated low trusting subjects would disclose the least of any role by trust group.

The interaction between individualized trust and gender role was complex. Despite the fact that undifferentiated high trusting subjects differed significantly from androgynous subjects, the levels of self-disclosure among androgynous, masculine, and feminine subjects were not significantly different. At first it seemed puzzling why feminine subjects, whose mean was virtually the same as androgynous subjects, did not also differ significantly from undifferentiated subjects. Further examination of the data revealed that the range of scores for females (133-427) was much larger than that for androgynous subjects (195-424), which evidently exerted enough influence to make a difference in significance values. Among low trusting subjects, both masculine and feminine participants disclosed significantly more than low trusting undifferentiated participants. More importantly, low trusting androgynous subjects did not differ significantly from any of the other low trusting groups. Together these results suggest that for high trusting subjects, an androgynous gender role tends to lead to higher rates of self-disclosure. However, the self-disclosure increase associated with an androgynous gender role appears to function only when subjects are high trusting. With a low trusting disposition, the disclosure increasing effects of androgyny

are no longer influential. The fact that androgynous, masculine, and feminine high trusting subjects did not differ is not surprising given research by Lombardo and Lavine (1981) which showed that self-disclosure differences by gender role on less intimate topics like those measured in the present study are not as pronounced as differences on more intimate topics.

Androgynous high trusting subjects were expected to disclose significantly more than any role by trust group. Results showed that androgynous high trusting and feminine high trusting subjects disclosed virtually equally, $\underline{M}$ = 312.2 and 312.8, respectively. High trusting masculine participants disclosed slightly less ($\underline{M}$ = 303.7) although this difference was not significant. Feminine and androgynous subjects are alike in that both groups scored above the median on femininity. An interesting venue for future research would be to do a regression using individualized trust and femininity as predictors of self-disclosure. Given that subjects in the present study who scored above the median on femininity were very high on self-disclosure and subjects who were high on individualized trust also scored high on self-disclosure, it is likely that these two variables could produce a powerful regression equation.

An unexpected interaction between gender and gender role emerged. The most striking component of the gender by gender role interaction in the present study occured between feminine males and

feminine females. Prior research which had failed to find a gender by gender role interaction (Lewis & McCarthy, 1988; Lombardo & Lavine, 1981, 1984) had excluded masculine females and feminine males from analysis. When those groups were included, I found that feminine females disclosed a tremendous amount more than feminine males.

Interestingly, significant differences did not emerge among masculine males and masculine females. A significant difference between feminine males and feminine females is particularly noteworthy given the small cell size ($\underline{N}$ = 7) of the feminine males. It appears that a cross-gender role identity effects males' rates of self-disclosure more than females'. Interestingly, only one of these feminine males was high trusting which offers a partial explanation for the low rate of self-disclosure among feminine males. An additional reason for a low rate of self-disclosure among feminine males could be related to the fear of femininity suggested by O'Neil (1981). O'Neil stated that many men may erroneously equate femininity with homosexuality leading to a suppression of behavior defined as feminine among men. It could be that feminine males are more guarded and less disclosing for fear of being thought to be different -- particularly by other males.

Additional research is needed to determine the nature of the self-disclosure patterns among feminine males to determine why

they are so different from feminine females and why masculine females do not experience the same disclosure decrement relative to feminine females. A possible strategy to explore this relationship would be to see whether there is a discernible pattern in feminine male's self-disclosure to specific target individuals (mother, father, best male friend, best female friend) and how this pattern relates to patterns found in other gender by gender role groups.

Hypothesis 4 was supported: females reported significantly more self-disclosure than males, confirming extensive research (Jourard, 1971b; Lombardo & Berzonsky, 1979; among others). Hypothesis 5 was also confirmed: subjects high on individualized trust reported more self-disclosure than subjects low on individualized trust, confirming the findings of Wheeless (1978) and Larzelere and Huston (1980).

Hypothesis 6 was only partially supported. A main effect for gender role emerged with androgynous, masculine, and feminine subjects each disclosing more than undifferentiated subjects, however the androgynous, masculine, and feminine groups were not significantly different from each other.

Prior studies which examined gender differences in self-disclosure tended to find more pronounced gender differences when more intimate disclosure topics were assessed (Snell, Belk, Flowers & Warren, 1988; Snell, Miller, & Belk, 1988). When less

intimate topics have been assessed results are mixed (Jourard, 1971b; Corcoran, 1988). Given the fact that the present study sampled a larger population than the three earlier studies (Corcoran, 1988; Lombardo & Lavine, 1981, 1984) the added power provided by the inclusion of more subjects could account for the fact that gender differences emerged. However, not all groups that were predicted to differ were significantly different, particularly in the gender role by trust interaction. If a measure of self-disclosure which taps more intimate topics were used in future research, the androgynous, feminine, and masculine groups may differ more. Such research should preferably be conducted once more intimate measures of self-disclosure have acceptable psychometric information available.

This study clarifies the relationships between gender and gender role as they relate to self-disclosure, particularly with regard to people with a feminine gender role. Most importantly, the relationship between individualized trust and gender role is explored, showing that an increase in self-disclosure common to androgynous individuals is restricted to those who are high trusting. Given the finding that gender role and individualized trust interact, it can now be stated that a complete description of self-disclosure behavior must include measures of both gender role and individualized trust. The study of each of these variables adds to our understanding of what accounts for individual differences in

self-disclosure. Such information has practical usefulness given the research showing that higher levels of self-disclosure are beneficial to a healthy personality (Jourard, 1971b).

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Table 1

Mean Self-Disclosure as a Function of Gender and Individualized Trust

	Individualized Trust	
Gender	High	Low
Male		
M	277.4	245.9
SD	63.1	61.6
Female		
M	321.8	273.6
SD	59.2	59.1

Table 2

Mean Self-Disclosure as a Function of Gender Role and Individualized Trust

Gender Role	Individualized Trust	
	High	Low
Masculine		
M	303.7	259.0
SD	61.1	58.9
Feminine		
M	312.8	286.2
SD	62.8	53.6
Androgynous		
M	312.2	261.3
SD	64.3	49.2
Undifferentiated		
M	267.8	231.3
SD	67.8	69.0

Table 3

Mean Self-Disclosure as a Function of Gender and Gender Role

	Gender	
Gender Role	Male	Female
Masculine		
M	275.6	291.9
SD	62.6	66.7
Feminine		
M	211.7	307.6
SD	52.1	54.0
Androgynous		
M	272.7	307.1
SD	61.9	63.0
Undifferentiated		
M	229.5	263.6
SD	56.5	84.1